

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, GW
SUBJECT: SPD CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY: THE SPECIAL SPD FOREIGN POLICY CONFERENCE
JANUARY 17-19
ILLUMINATED SOME OF THE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN
THE PARTY. AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS WERE PROMINENT SPD
POLITICIANS AS WELL AS FOREIGN EXPERTS FROM THE UNITED
STATES, POLAND, THE SOVIET UNION, ENGLAND, AND FRANCE,
AND PARTY MEMBERS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES.
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THE JUSO REPRESENTATIVES, LED BY CHAIRMAN HEIDI WIECZOREK

ZEUL, DID NOT SEEK CONFRONTATION ON THE BASIC POSTULATES OF SPD POLICY--CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES, MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, DETENTE AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE THIRD WORLD. THIS WAS JUST THE OPENING SHOT, HOWEVER, AND MORE DEBATE OVER FOREIGN POLICY IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS IN NOVEMBER. THE LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS THE RANK AND FILE ARE NOT APT TO BE OVERLY TOLERANT SHOULD JUSO PUBLIC STATEMENTS PROVE EMBARRASSING AND BE REFLECTED AT THE POLLS. END SUMMARY

1. THE SPD HELD A SPECIAL CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY IN BONN JANUARY 17-19. THE CONFERENCE, ACCORDING TO WILLY BRANDT IN THE CLOSING SPEECH, HAD THREE PURPOSES: (1) TO ANALYZE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, (2) TO IDENTIFY SPD FOREIGN POLICY DIRECTIONS TO BE DISCUSSED FURTHER AT THE NOVEMBER PARTY CONGRESS, AND (3) TO DEMONSTRATE FOREIGN POLICY ACHIEVEMENTS AND CONTINUITY.
2. OVER 200 PARTY MEMBERS, INCLUDING ALMOST ALL PROMINENT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LEADERS, THE TOP JUSO LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS SPD POLITICIANS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY ISSUES PARTICIPATED IN THE CONFERENCE. REPRESENTATIVES FROM SISTER SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES WERE ALSO INVITED. FOR THE FIRST TIME, FOREIGN EXPERTS ADDRESSED THE WORKING GROUPS AND PARTICIPATED IN THE FOUR WORKING GROUP SESSIONS (I.E., THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP, OSTPOLITIK, AND THE THIRD WORLD). THESE INCLUDED DR. ANDREW SHONFIELD OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN LONDON, FRENCH PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, HENRI MENUDIER, HARVARD PROFESSOR KARL DEUTSCH, PROFESSOR N.N. INOSEMZEW, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ECONOMICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN MOSCOW, AMBASSADOR MARIAN DOBROSIELSKI, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN WARSAW, AND DR. IBRAHIM M. KADUMA, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM. THE WORKING GROUPS WERE CLOSED TO THE PRESS BUT EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES ATTENDED AS OBSERVERS.
3. CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT SET THE TONE FOR THE CONFERENCE IN HIS OPENING SPEECH. HE CALLED FOR INTER-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NATIONAL COOPERATION IN SOLVING THE ENERGY CRISIS, STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF US-GERMAN RELATIONS, SAID THAT OSTPOLITIK REMAINED CENTRAL TO FRG FOREIGN POLICY, AND REMINDED THE PARTICIPANTS THAT THE SPD AS A GOVERNING PARTY WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO CARRY OUT A "PURE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY" BUT MUST REPRESENT ALL THE GERMAN CITIZENS IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

4. THE WORKING GROUP WHICH DISCUSSED THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ("ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP--COOPERATION OR MORE?") HAD THE SMALLEST PARTICIPATION. THE JUSOS, HOWEVER, LED BY JUSO CHAIRMAN HEIDI WIECZOREK-ZEUL, CONCENTRATED THEIR FORCES ON THIS WORKING GROUP. ORIGINALLY, DEFENSE MINISTER GEORG LEBER WAS TO CHAIR THE GROUP BUT HE BECAME ILL AND WAS REPLACED BY A PROFESSOR FROM HAMBURG. PROFESSOR KARL DEUTSCH OPENED THE SESSION WITH AN ANALYSIS OF "INTEREST GROUP" INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE DIS-

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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CUSSIONS THAT THE JUSOS HOPED TO CHANGE, AT LEAST IN EMPHASIS, SPD POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. FRAU WIECZOREK-ZEUL ARGUED THAT THE PARTNERSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND NATO SHOULD BE IN HARMONY WITH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC GOALS AND THAT PARTNERSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES, IN PARTICULAR, SHOULD NOT HINDER THE PACE AND DEGREE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DOMESTIC REFORMS. SHE ALSO ARGUED THAT WHILE THE JUSOS DID NOT BELIEVE THAT GERMANY SHOULD PULL OUT OF NATO AT THE PRESENT

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TIME, THE GOAL OF A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY WAS THE ELIMINATION OF MILITARY BLOCS IN THE EAST AND THE WEST. AT ONE POINT ONE OF THE BUNDESTAG DEPUTIES PARTICIPATING SAID THAT HE HAD WONDERED WHY THE CONFERENCE HAD BEEN CALLED IN THE FIRST PLACE BUT CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS A DEVICE TO HELP THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AVOID THE ELECTION DEFEATS IN THE FORTHCOMING LAENDER ELECTIONS THAT THE PARTY SUFFERED IN HESSE AND BAVARIA. HOWEVER, HE SAID, AFTER LISTENING TO THE DISCUSSIONS (READ THE JUSO POSITIONS), HE WAS NOT SURE THAT THIS WAS THE CASE. THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP WORKING GROUP WAS A GOOD ILLUSTRATION OF JUSO POLITICAL TACTICS. WHILE THEY WERE CAREFUL TO KEEP THE DISCUSSION CIVIL AND FRAU WIECZOREK-ZEUL WAS NOT ABOVE USING CHARM TO WIN SUPPORT FOR JUSO POSITIONS, THE JUSOS TOOK UP A GREAT AMOUNT OF THE DISCUSSION TIME ARGUING ABOUT THE BASIC PREMISES OF SPD FOREIGN POLICY. IN THE LAST MINUTES OF THE NINE-HOUR SESSION DEVOTED TO THE RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT WHICH WAS TO BE DELIVERED THE NEXT DAY TO THE PLENARY SESSION, THE JUSOS INTRODUCED A LIST OF JUSO FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES WHICH THEY WANTED INCLUDED IN THE REPORT. IN ORDER TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION AT THE PLENARY SESSION (WITH THE PRESS PRESENT) THE RAPPORTEUR RESTRICTED HIS REPORT TO REPEATING THE LANGUAGE OF THE FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTIONS REFERRING TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AT THE 1973 SPD GENERAL NATIONAL CONGRESS AND ALLUDED TO PROBLEM AREAS.

5. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DEBATE IN THE WORKING GROUP CONCERNED WITH THE THIRD WORLD. THIS GROUP DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH THE PROBLEMS CREATED FOR GERMAN-THIRD WORLD RELATIONS BY THE OIL CRISIS. THERE WAS ALSO DISAGREEMENT OVER FOREIGN AID TO SOME LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. AT THE CONCLUDING PLENARY SESSION THE JUSOS ISSUED A PRESS STATEMENT ATTACKING DEVELOPMENT

AID FOR CHILE AND STATING THAT THE FRG SHOULD NOT ASSIST THE JUNTA AT THE OECD NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING RESCHEDULING THE CHILEAN DEBT.

6. AT THE CONCLUDING PLENARY SESSION, FORMER CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALMEYDA MADE AN APPEARANCE AND EXPRESSED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HIS GRATITUDE FOR THE HELP OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN BRINGING ABOUT HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON. DURING THE DISCUSSIONS HEIDI WIECZOREK-ZEUL ONCE AGAIN CALLED FOR A DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY, AND JUSO THEORIST JOHANO STRASSER CALLED FOR BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND SOME OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. IN RESPONSE EGON BAHR WARNED THE MEETING THAT A RETURN TO AN "IDEOLOGICAL" FOREIGN POLICY WOULD BE THE END OF DETENTE POLICY. WILLY BRANDT ENDED THE CONFERENCE WITH A SPEECH CALLING FOR THE USE OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS TO SOLVE GLOBAL PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT THE SPD WOULD CONTINUE ITS DETENTE POLICY WHICH IS ANCHORED IN THE ATLANTIC

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ALLIANCE. BRANDT ALSO REMARKED THAT THE RECENT SOVIET
DECISION TO VOID THE US-USSR TRADE AGREEMENT DID NOT
SIGNAL A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS.
(REPORTEDLY, INOSEMZEW SAID THE SAME THING AT THE
WORKING SESSION ON OSTPOLITIK.) BOTH BRANDT AND
SCHMIDT STRESSED THAT THE SPD WAS COMMITTED TO THE
RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST WITHIN SECURE BORDERS.

7. THE CONFERENCE PRODUCED NO SURPRISES BUT DID
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ILLUMINATE SOME OF THE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE
PARTY. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF PERMITTING CONSIDERABLE FREEDOM OF DIS-
CUSSION AND AVOIDING ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE
IN PUBLIC BETWEEN THE JUSOS ON THE ONE HAND AND THE
SPD LEADERSHIP AND RANK AND FILE ON THE OTHER, THE CON-
FERENCE WAS SUCCESSFUL. IT WAS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT
THE JUSOS DID NOT ACCEPT THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CON-
FERENCE AS FORECLOSING DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES
AT THE MANNHEIM CONGRESS IN NOVEMBER. IN CORRIDOR
CONVERSATIONS IT WAS EVIDENT THAT SOME SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
HAVE REACHED THE OUTER LIMITS OF PATIENCE WITH THE
JUSOS. IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT THERE WILL BE GROWING
PRESSURE WITHIN THE PARTY, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE
ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, TO MAKE IT CLEAR INTERNALLY AND
TO THE PUBLIC THAT THE JUSOS DO NOT REPRESENT THE
MAJORITY OPINION OF THE SPD.
HILLENBRAND

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